1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MS20

K
§62 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as
701 having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

K Among the nomad and peasant Kûrds, as might be
§71 expected, very little attention is paid to education.
709 The sedentary Kûrds in Sulîmanîeh and other centres,
are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have
Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation
to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.
K
[212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kûrds are
also taught at least to read and write Persian, which
is the literary language, for Kûrdish literature is
almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt
made early in the century by some Mollahs to pub-
K lish works in that language. The Kûrdish tongue
• 107 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and
it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Con-
stant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in
the introduction into their idiom of a great number of
K Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feel-
538 ing often manifests itself among Kûrdish women, who
compose many graceful and touching songs, of which
the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y The members of the Yezîdî sect, who belong to
§71 eleven different tribes, and number between seven
703 and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a
§42 strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and
their ignorance is proverbial among the people by
whom they are surrounded. With the exception per-
haps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the
men are consequently totally without education, and
their women are naturally in a similarly benighted
condition.

[1] Schlimmer, *Die Armenier*, p. 130.

eligions and Muslim Sivenesings. In addition to being 101
habited by those noted for their tenacity, this country
s been the meeting place of empires and cultural tradi-
ons, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians,
d Turks. The Kurds, because of their martial strength,
phasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the
hancels of the first World War than some of their Christian
ighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation
ose most distinctive characteristics are its language and
stoms. Coupled with these are a large number of minor
aracteristics which differentiate it from other Islamic
oples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian,
d Turk are easily discernible and many things, such as
rtain religious practices, may be assigned definite
storical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign
ements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. The 114
story of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored,
d those few treatments which have appeared are, for the
st part, disappointing, for they have been written by
rsons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholar-
ip is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
rround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to
pear first in classical literature as the Kardouki of
enophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people
cupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174 179

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 481-493.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purposes in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, May, 1921.

601

Father's sister			
Father's sister's son			
Father's sister's daughter			
Father			
Mother			
Mother's brother			
Mother's brother's son			
Mother's brother's daughter			
Mother's sister			
Mother's sister's son			
Mother's sister's daughter			
Brother's son			
Brother's daughter			
Sister's son			
Sister's daughter			
Husband's brother			
Husband's sister			
Wife's brother			
Wife's sister			

The Kurdish language of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. It must be remembered again that the population of Rowandiz is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Effendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, mamo and khalo, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun ke which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

[197]

601
193
197

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than mardixushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus,
a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of
an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example,
in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar,
a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed
by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the
section treating society, this is closely connected with
that of the household's woman. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are
required to conceal their faces, if not their persons,
from those unrelated or not intimately known to their
families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled,
but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as
lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands.
The decorum demanded of woman serves to orient relation-
ships within and without the household. Coupled with this

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzingan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sonna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1638, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet[2] of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

[1] [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.--Analyst]

* C. J. Edmonds was formerly in the British Foreign Service. In 1922 he was seconded for service under the Iraqi Government and from 1931 to 1941 was Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior. He is now lecturer in Kurdish at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 12]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Points of Analysis calling for Further Study

The foregoing analysis has thrown emphasis on the fact that the Agha is of the same kinship group as the majority of his followers and very closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that in conversation Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala differentiated between "Khesm khoisana" (my relatives) and "kurmanj" (peasantry), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I noted that he included in the former term at least some of his second cousins. The practical distinction seemed to be that his khesm were allowed to sit in his guest house by right while the kurmanj could only do so by special invitation. Linguistically there appeared to be a confusion between the terms kurmanj and muskyn both of which were translated to me as arabic fellahin (peasant). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Kurdish dialects of Kirmanji and Kurdi and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further examination is the precise inheritance of the title Agha. We have seen that from the point of view of political organisation each gund has at any time one, and only one, Agha, in the sense of landlord. The succession however does not necessarily follow the rule of primogeniture. As it happens both Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash and Ali Agha of Rayat have living with them in the same village brothers who are older than themselves. In the former case the elder brother leads a retired life and takes no part in village affairs; in the latter Abdullah Agha who lives in Ali Agha's house in Rayat throughout the winter moves off into the mountains in the summer with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and establishes his own hoh (settlement of black tents). But though Abdullah is the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Ali Agha is head of the group. On the other hand though the Agha of Rayat is quite definitely Ali Agha the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus in Rayat the old chief Ali, his brother, his two nephew's Kharia and Ali and presumably his adult son also (who was away during my visit) are all given the title Agha in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage, thus Hamid Amin's brother in Nazpurdin is known as Rasul Agha though he does not function as a landlord, as Sheikh Mohammad Agha's four eldest sons all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited as the lineage spreads, for instance will the sons of Kharia, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the reigning Agha of Rayat also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Agha or the Aghas of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Agha, and not any sons or near relatives who happen to bear the same title. The sociological function of the gund Agha can be quite clearly defined. He is the

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 771 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

231 771 Zoroaster commanded that the dog should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog' is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

• 197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

197 nated as corrupt dialects of Persian. The relation between them is made clear, however, by a knowledge of the migration of Aryan-speaking peoples in the Middle East; moreover the speech of the mountain races, and especially of the Kurds, retains more of the original Sanskrit form through their isolation from the outer world. So Kurdish is one of the oldest forms of the Aryan tongue spoken at the present day.

Further proof that Kurdish is not a dialect of Persian is given by the Zaza dialect spoken by the Kurds of Turkey and the northern border of Iraq, which bears little resemblance to Persian. The greater the distance of the habitat from Persia, the less does a Kurdish dialect resemble Persian, although its relation to other Kurdish dialects will still be evident.

Kurdish has, prior to the last eighteen years, never been a written language, so

[p. 386 (B)]

• 197 no standard form has been brought into general use; but there is little more difference between the several dialects of Kurdish than between the spoken Arabic of different branches of the Arab race. Arabic, moreover, has had the advantage of being standardized in writing, and to some extent in speech, by the spread of the Koran during the past 1200 years.

Semitic languages are based on consonants while Kurdish is based on vowel sounds. Thus the meaning of a Kurdish word may be entirely altered by a slight change in its pronunciation, including minute inflexions of certain vowels which are not recognized in most of the other Aryan languages. It is for this reason that, as in Pushtu, it is almost impossible for a foreigner to acquire a perfect pronunciation. As with other Kurdish peculiarities, the cause may be traced to the

[p. 386 (e)]

habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

[p 367 (A)]

4: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA1 Iran
Kurd MA11

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

14a Ivanov B-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd 1941

I
174 now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families
162 in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.
167 The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timuris and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

K *Kurds.*—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in
101 Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames
167 of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with
168 Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred
167 as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the
177 seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

101 With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that
619 they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions
● 197 to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds.
003 The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

14: Ivanov 5-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd 1911

K 101 162 197 621 I 162

The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principle sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qushkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Infarsin, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qasmanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawun, etc.
6. Shadillu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kurnelu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mazbdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

K 221 178 621

All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kaakhka.
14. Briwanlu, near Kaakhka, and in the summer in Kalat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Daulat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amanlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Maruzhk (also called Marush).

* Their name reminds the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jaf, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Ban MAI
Kurd MAI
Baluchi MAI

This division probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

[illegible words and probably copy of 14.—Ivanov]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the nobles dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.